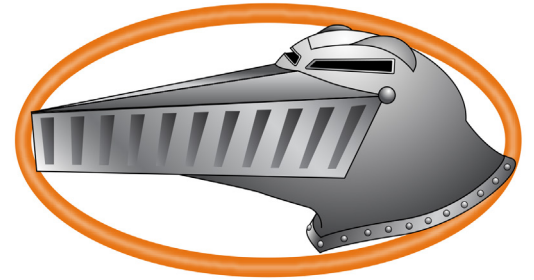


UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

MEMS



medieval and early modern studies

# Crusading and the Byzantine Legacy in the Northwestern Black Sea Region

*and*

## The Medieval Balkans as Mirror: Byzantine Perceptions of the Balkans and the World Beyond

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# Crusading and the Byzantine Legacy

## *in the Northwestern Black Sea Region*

SESSION 13

Thursday, 12 May 2016

10:00–11:30am

During the first Three Crusades, the Black Sea remained outside the main routes along which the crusading armies moved towards the Holy Land, even though many of them crossed the Balkans and Asia Minor. The situation changed dramatically in the early thirteenth century, after the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade.

With the rise in 1204 of the Latin Empire and the disintegration of Byzantine hegemony in the Black Sea region, “Western” hopes of recovering Jerusalem were placed on hold, and a new phase opened in the history of the Crusades. From the establishment of the Latin Empire in the early thirteenth century to the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth, the region of the Black Sea lay at the center of a major clash of powers, with a history most complicated.

The session draws attention to this sphere of crusading, neglected until now. The purpose is to present several case studies of Crusade perception and comprehension, as viewed from small political actors such as the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. This quest makes it possible to show how both states, although Orthodox Christian and thus, if not outright hostile, at least cautious about the goals of the crusading movement, developed specific policies aimed at resisting Ottoman encroachment.

**Organizers:** **Mildred Budny** (Research Group on Manuscript Evidence, Princeton)  
and **Florin Curta** (University of Florida)

**Presider:** **Florin Curta**

**Presenters:**

**Laurențiu Rădvan** (‘Alexandru Ioan Cuza’ University, Iași, Romania)  
*“Between Byzantium, the Mongol Empire, Genoa, and Moldavia:  
Trade Centers in the Northwestern Black Sea Area”*

**Ovidiu Cristea** (‘Nicolae Iorga’ Institute of History, Bucharest, Romania)  
*“The Crusade in the Black Sea Region:  
Discourses, Projects, and Actions from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Centuries”*

**Liviu Pilat** (Faculty of History, ‘Alexandru Ioan Cuza’ University, Iași)  
*“A Plan for the Annihilation of Mehmet II in Moldavia (1475–1476)”*

**Bodgan-Petru Maleon** (Faculty of History, ‘Alexandru Ioan Cuza’ University, Iași)  
*“Warriors’ Corpses in the Moldavian Anti-Ottoman War of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries”*

# The Medieval Balkans as Mirror:

## *Byzantine Perceptions of the Balkans and the World Beyond*

SESSION 79  
Thursday, 12 May 2016  
1:30–3:00pm

Recent Byzantine Studies have placed much emphasis on the “image of the Other”, especially on the use of the Empire’s neighbors in the Balkans or the Caucasus region, as a foil for the construction of the Self in works by the educated elites in Constantinople.

Given the long conflict between Bulgaria and Byzantium between the late eighth and early eleventh centuries, the landscape in the central and eastern Balkans, as well as all manner of things Bulgarian (from dress to military skills), played a significant role in the works of Byzantine historians preoccupied with the definition of an imperial, Byzantine identity. A similar tension pertained in the twelfth century, as Byzantine intellectuals (especially Anna Comnena) began to reflect upon the relation between the Empire and the world beyond the Balkans, namely the nomads in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea (Pecenegs, Oghuz, and Cumans).

This session aims to showcase contributions to the study of the fascinating “mirror image” of Byzantine intellectuals gazing across the Balkans.

**Organizers:** **Florin Curta** (University of Florida)  
and **Mildred Budny** (Research Group on Manuscript Evidence)

**Presider:** **Mildred Budny**

**Presenters:**

**Kiril Marinow** (Department of Byzantine History, University of Łódź, Poland)

“*‘Wild Sprout Grafted into the Excellent Olive Tree of the New Israel’:  
Byzantine Views of the Bulgarians after Their Conversion*”

**Aleksander Paroń** (Center for Late Antique and Early Medieval Studies,  
Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław)

“*‘More Savage than Nature Itself’:  
The Image of the Nomads in the Byzantine Historiography of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries  
and the Political Practice of the Constantinopolitan Court*”

**Jan Mikołaj Wolski** (Department of Byzantine History, University of Łódź)

“*The Image of Peter I in Bulgarian Historiography: Interpretations by Petăr Mutafčiev*”

**Elisaveta Todorova** (Department of History, University of Cincinnati)

“*Byzantine Perceptions of the Bulgarian Economy as a Distorted Mirror*”



Figure 1. Evangelist frontispiece for John in the Gospels of Humor Monastery, completed in 1473. (See also Figures 3 and 4.) The Scribal Author enthroned in his study, with book, scroll, and inks.

# Abstracts (Alphabetical order by Speaker)

**Cristea, Ovidiu** ('Nicolae Iorga' Institute of History, Bucharest, Romania)

*"The Crusade in the Black Sea Region:*

*Discourses, Projects, and Actions from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Centuries"*

The history of the Crusade in the Black Sea area starts in 1204 when the armies of the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople. That event not only marked the fall of the Byzantine Empire, but also impelled the disintegration of the Byzantine hegemony in the Black Sea. Some leaders of the Crusade — among them the first two Latin Emperors — claimed that the success marked a turning point for the survival of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In their view the "schismatics", until 1204, posed a major obstacle towards the Latin Orient, and the conquest of Constantinople secured an important base of operation for any expedition to be organized against the infidels. Neither such claim was put into practice. On the contrary, from the very beginning the Latin Empire of Constantinople constituted a vulnerable political entity which needed strong military and financial support. The first episode of the Crusade in the Black Sea (1204–1261) spans the struggle by the Latin Empire for survival, which came to an end in 1261.

The second phase starts in 1261 and corresponds to the Western efforts to recover Constantinople from Byzantine hands. The main power interested in these projects was the Venetian Republic, which saw the fall of the Latin Empire as a huge blow against its commercial and political interests in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Republic of Saint Mark not only lost its previous privileged position in Constantinople, but also saw its whole Aegean Empire put into jeopardy by the renewed Byzantine Empire. Yet Venice, a great naval power, was unable to launch an offensive against Constantinople without the support of a strong army. Thus all crusading projects against the schismatics aimed to combine Venetian maritime prowess with the military might of two French princes: Charles of Anjou and Charles of Valois. Such projects eventually failed, and Venice was forced to reconsider its Eastern politics at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The new era which started around 1310 was dominated by a "fragmentation" of the crusading ideal. The failure of all the attempts to support the Holy Land or to recover Constantinople compelled the crusading strategists to find new ways to fight against the infidels. Moreover, the multiplication of enemies in the Black Sea and the Aegean area (the Golden Horde, the Seljuk emirates of Menteshe and Aydin, and from the mid-14th century onwards, the Ottoman Turks) required a more pragmatic approach and the substitution of a "general crusade" (*passagium generale*), theoretically launched to recover the Holy Sepulchre, with a small-scale crusade (*passagium particulare*) aimed to confront and to repel the enemy of the Cross in a specific region. One of these regions was the Aegean Sea, where the Venetians inflicted some minor setbacks upon the Turkish flotillas. The other was the Black Sea, where the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland launched, from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards, an important offensive against the Golden Horde's hegemony. In this process were involved the newly created principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia which, in a first period, used the Crusade to shatter the Tartars' domination. Later, in the second half of the fourteenth century, Wallachia — and from the middle of the fifteenth century also Moldavia — used the rhetoric of the Crusade, and took part in some significant clashes against the infidels in their fight for survival between Catholic powers (Hungary, Poland) and the Ottoman Empire.

The present paper tries to offer an overview of how such "minor" wars fitted into the general crusading movement of the Later Middle Ages, and how the crusading discourses of the Wallachian and Moldavian princes followed, but also adapted, some very well-known patterns of the crusading discourses.

**Maleon, Bodgan-Petru** ('Alexandru Ioan Cuza' University, Iași, Romania)

*"Warriors' Corpses in the Moldavian Anti-Ottoman War of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries"*

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Romanian region — comprising Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania — was frequently attacked by Ottoman armies. The numerous battles that took place resulted

in large numbers of dead, both Christians and Muslims. Historians have not been particularly interested in what happened with the warriors' corpses after the battles, especially since the sources are very poor in this regard.

However, the present approach aims to analyse all sources that can provide credible information, especially ones that are contemporary. From this point of view, the study uses various sources, such as internal documents (primarily consisting of chronicles), the writings of foreign travellers that crossed medieval Moldavia, and also external narrative sources, especially Ottoman ones. The information provided by archaeological finds are less used by historiography, although that kind of evidence is invaluable.

Field excavations enable the reconstruction of the manner in which bodies were treated, according to religion and honoring the spirit of sacrifice proven in battles. Most information mentions the disposal of corpses at battlefields by incineration of the Muslim enemies and burial of Christians. A reference-point for this perspective is the founding by Stephen the Great of the Church at Războieni in 1496, twenty years after his confrontation at the White River (Pârâul Alb) with the Ottoman army led by Mehmed II. The church was built on the bodies of the Moldavian soldiers slain in the battle along with the unfaithful, so that the religious edifice was given the appearance of a mausoleum.

From a methodological point of view, the study might achieve precise analyses of specific cases, based upon comparison and contrast. The proposed research reconstructs how the process was approached in Moldavia during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in contrast to previous events that took place in the Balkan Peninsula and contemporaneous realities of neighbouring countries. This comparative approach will also highlight the intriguing parallels in this Black Sea region to the status of Crusaders in the West.

**Marinow, Kiril** (Department of Byzantine History, University of Łódź, Poland)

“‘Wild Sprout Grafted into the Excellent Olive-Tree of the New Israel’:

*Byzantine Views of the Bulgarians after Their Conversion”*

The beginning of the tenth century belonged among the most stormy ones in the history of Byzantine-Bulgarian relations. Taking advantage of the tense internal situation of the Empire, the Bulgarian ruler Symeon I (893–927) assumed the title of *tzar* (emperor) and began an ambitious policy of conquering the Balkan territories of the Empire, with the capture of power in the capital city on the Bosphorus; it is thought that he attempted to create a new political order, known as *Pax Symeonica*. Finally, after Symeon's death, the year 927 brought about the conclusion of a lasting peace between Byzantium and Bulgaria. This peace ended many years of armed struggle between the two states.

During the period under consideration, representatives of the Byzantine court corresponded with Symeon. This correspondence, in addition to some rhetorical works, makes it possible to reconstruct the Byzantine image of Christian Bulgarians and their place in the so-called Byzantine Commonwealth of Nations. What is worthy to be emphasized is that the Byzantines did not allow any possibility of breaching the political doctrine that they adopted.

In short, Byzantine authors exerted promulgated the following views, both religious and political in nature:

- 1) The Byzantines are the new Chosen Nation, the New Israel.
- 2) When baptized in the second half of the ninth century, the Bulgarians had been planted as a twig of the true Root of Jesse. From then on, along with the Byzantines, they made up the Body of Christ and the House of Jacob.
- 3) The Byzantines are the fathers and teachers in faith for the Bulgarians, as they bore in faith their northern neighbours, as they were the ones who brought them the light of the Gospel. So long as the Bulgarians would keep in unity with the Empire, they may enjoy God's blessings and their country flourish; they are part of the hierarchic order created by God on the earth, and they may enjoy leadership and care of the Empire.



This brotherhood primarily concerns the shared Orthodox faith of the Byzantines and Bulgarians. The sonship of the Bulgarians refers to the Byzantine concept of hierarchy of rulers and nations, established on earth. At the head of this hierarchy was the Roman emperor, and below him, at different rungs of the hierarchical ladder, were other rulers and nations over whom the basileus exercised spiritual custody, and who were due respect to him. In this regard, too, the Bulgarian ruler was the emperor's son. Adherence to this *táksis* ("arrangement") guaranteed stability and blessing of the oecumene, since this order was modeled upon the heavenly hierarchy, and therefore sacred. As such, it was untouchable, unchangeable. Infringing upon it was, in Byzantine thinking, a sacrilege, an act of violence against God's regulations.

4) Symeon and his ungodly desire to get obtain the Byzantine crown, thus disturbing the divine order, have been blamed for all the misery of war (along with the Byzantine regency of 913–919). By rejecting the spiritual fatherhood of the emperor, he rejected, in fact, God the Father and the Holy Spirit, who is the pledge of divine sonship. In doing so, he ceased to be a spiritual son, both of the emperor and of God, and therefore, as a consequence, he ceased to be a member of the household of faith, a member of God's family, headed by the Byzantine ruler. He also offended against the fourth Commandment, which speaks of honouring the parents, in our case even spiritual ones. But, doing so, he also betrayed the will of his real father (in both physical and educational senses), that is Boris-Michael. He would have disobeyed his suggestions; he would have abandoned the legacy of continuing peaceful relations with the southern neighbour.

5) The peace of 927 was a particular manifestation of God's work, whose disregard would be a mortal sin; one should also see that peaceful coexistence survived, as peace is an eternal attribute of God; and hence, by concluding eternal peace, the Byzantines and Bulgarians are like the Almighty, and therefore become the proper image of God. Only the reconciliation between both nations and the restoration of unity and friendship between them restored the *táksis*, and enabled the streaming of God's blessings upon both countries. That act was also, and primarily, an act of reunification of the House of God, the Church into a single flesh, the Body of Christ. The fruit of that unification was the blessing of all kinds — joy, unity, friendship, love, concord, harmony, companionship and fraternity, the reconstruction of destroyed territories, the green of the earth, abundance, wealth, and power.

Evaluating these Byzantine élitist views of the converted Bulgarians allows us more fully to reassess the characteristics and circumstances of their relations following conversion and peace between those diverse peoples.

**Paroń, Aleksander** (Center for Late Antique and Early Medieval Studies,  
Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław)

“More Savage than Nature Itself”:

*The Image of the Nomads in the Byzantine Historiography of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries  
and the Political Practice of the Constantinopolitan Court*

The decline of the First Bulgarian Empire caused the return of the Byzantine Balkan border to the Lower Danube. This change was also important for the quality of relations between Byzantium and nomads living in the Black Sea steppes. Secure contacts via the Crimean Cherson were replaced by direct relations with tough and dangerous partners. Migrations of the Pechenegs and the Uzes to the Balkans were an additional challenge for the imperial government, since the Byzantines had to cope with the presence of newcomers of very different culture within their own state.

Byzantine élites therefore faced the task of understanding the world of nomads. I intend to present an analysis of how the nomadic newcomers were perceived by educated and influential Byzantines. The basis for my considerations will be the evidence of the selected works, belonging to Byzantine historiography of the tenth to twelfth centuries. The image obtained seems also to explain the policy that was adopted toward the nomadic newcomers by the Constantinopolitan court.





Figure 2. Silver akçe Coin of Mehmet II, struck in Edirne (the capital pre-Constantinople). AH 855 (1451–52 CE). Private collection.

Obverse: The name “Mehmet” (Arabic *Mohammed*) in the center circle, and the date at upper right.

Reverse: The name of the mint.



Figure 3. Gospels of Humor Monastery. Bucharest, National Museum of History (Muzeul Național de Istorie a României), C 405, folio 66v.

Votive portrait of Stephen the Great, kneeling and presenting a closed, clasped, and bejeweled book to the enthroned Virgin Mary and Child.

Source: Centrul de Certare și Documentare “Ștefan cel Mare” al mănăstirii Putna / Center for Research and Documentation “Ștefan cel Mare” of Putna Monastery. Reproduced by permission.



**Pilat, Liviu** (Faculty of History, 'Alexandru Ioan Cuza' University, Iași, Romania)

*"A Plan for the Annihilation of Mehmet II in Moldavia (1475-1476)"*

This paper presents some lesser-known aspects of crusading in Eastern Europe and analyses the complex relationship between crusading (as a shared ideal and a form of Christian solidarity) and the often divergent political interests of the Christian states in the Black Sea north-western region.

On 10 January 1475, the Ottoman army was defeated at the battle of Vaslui by Stephen the Great of Moldavia and his Hungarian and Polish allies. The victory added to the fame of this *voivode* ("war-lord") and also that of King Matthias of Hungary, who adroitly used the news for his own propagandist purposes. Events on the Eastern frontier of Christendom were followed closely and brought reprisals.

The preparations for a new war lasted a year, with the sultan on the one side assembling a large army, while Stephen on the other sought aid from Christian princes. The Moldavian envoy asked for subsidies from the Holy See, and Pope Sixtus IV offered a Jubilee-Year indulgence in aid of Moldavia through his bull *Pastoris Aeterni*, declaring that moneys raised would go to the voivode to be used for Crusade. Stephen the Great proposed an ambitious strategy to defeat and destroy Mehmed II with the help of the Hungarian and Polish armies. The plan was to draw the sultan into the interior of Moldavia, where he would be surrounded by Hungarian troops coming from the South-West and Polish troops from the North-East. Significant numbers of troops were raised in Hungary and Poland for the purpose, but the plan failed because of various unforeseen factors, such as a Tatar raid from the East, and because the Christian armies did not coordinate their movements. Thus the *voivode* was forced to join battle at Valea Albă, where he was defeated and driven back to the edge of Poland. Hearing that the Hungarian army was approaching (while the Polish contingent had made camp at Lviv until after the confrontation was over), the sultan quickly retreated from Moldavia. The Ottoman rear-guard was attacked and defeated in Wallachia by Hungarian and Moldavian troops, and Vlad Țepeș, a well-known enemy of the Turks, was installed on the Wallachian throne.

Despite his defeat, the events of 1476 increased Stephen the Great's reputation as a champion of Christendom. In the following year, the pope published the bull *Redemptor noster*, offering a plenary indulgence to all Christians who went to fight alongside him. Stephen's new strategy, presented in Venice, aimed to reconquer Caffa.

**Rădvan, Laurențiu** ('Alexandru Ioan Cuza' University, Iași, Romania)

*"Between Byzantium, the Mongol Empire, Genoa, and Moldavia:*

*Trade Centers in the North-Western Black Sea Area"*

In this paper I will discuss the economic policies, specifically those linked to two important trade centers of the Black Sea region: Chilia/Licostomo and Cetatea Alba/Moncastro, which also played a key rôle as bases of operation for later crusading plans targeting (now Ottoman) Constantinople.

First, I will present how these centers emerged and developed, in a region exposed not only to Byzantine and Mongol, but also to Italian, influences. The Byzantine influence still remains an under-addressed topic, largely because these commercial centers reached their peak in a period during which Byzantium's role in the north-western Black Sea area diminished. Conversely, the Mongols took a prominent political position in the region after 1241. Lacking the experience necessary for administering a profitable trade environment, they allowed the Genoese to settle these shores after the treaty of Nymphaion (1261). The first mention of the Genoese at the mouth of the Dniester is in 1290, but they were probably present from earlier times, because the "Mongol road" ended here. The Italian merchants actively focused on trading grain, wax, honey, skins, and slaves from the region, an activity that allowed them to exert an increasing influence on the economy, as well as upon community organization, administration, and other spheres of social, political, and cultural life.

A century later, another actor establishes itself on the political and economic stage of the north-western Black Sea area: the Moldavian principality. This polity will struggle to extend its borders up to the sea, in a process that ended as late as 1465, through the conquest of Chilia. The pinnacle of Moldavian influence



Figure 4. Gospels of Humor Monastery.

Opening of the Gospel of Matthew, set beneath an elaborate headpiece combining interlace, foliate and floral motifs, rosettes, and crosses.

Written in Old Church Slavonic and partly in gold by Nicodim, monk of Humor Monastery, the book was commissioned by Ștefan, Voivod of Moldavia and completed on 17 June '6981' (1473 CE), according to the scribal colophon on folio 265 verso. The book contains five illuminated full-page images (as in Figures 1 and 3), and retains its figured, gilded silver covers also made at the monastery. Ștefan the Great offered it in 1473 to Putna Monastery, which he built and dedicated to the Virgin Mary; his tomb is there.

occurs during the rule of Stephen the Great (1457–1504), who is actively involved in the temporarily-successful anti-Ottoman Crusade. In 1484 the Moldavian ruler loses the ports, which pass under Ottoman rule. The Sultan bestowed a favorable fiscal regime upon the merchants from Cetatea Albă, similar to that applied to other large towns of his Empire, signaling his desire to ensure the development of this important port. During this whole period, the inhabitants of the Black Sea port towns preserved a large measure of autonomy, inherited from the Genoese.

**Todorova, Elisaveta** (Department of History, University of Cincinnati)

*“Byzantine Perceptions of the Bulgarian Economy as a Distorted Mirror”*

The complex and quite clear picture of the Byzantine economy that we have now is due to the pioneering work of the late Angeliki Laiou (1941–2008). It also gives a solid basis for the study of the economic life of the peoples in the Balkan region.

Diffusion of the most advanced and productive Byzantine techniques after the long period of control, almost two centuries in duration, of the area during the eleventh and twelfth centuries worked to blend technological differences between diverse localities, but geography (relief, climate, soils etc.), traditions, and slow communication contributed to subsequent differences between them.

Some Byzantine authors, such as Michael Attaleiates (circa 1022 – 1080), George Pachymeres (1242 – circa 1310), Nicephoras Gregoras (circa 1295 – 1360, and John VI Cantacuzenus (circa 1292 – 15 June 1383), had noticed, recorded, explained, and evaluated such differences as reasons for the success of those peoples, armies, and political entities during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, as they considered them as a foundation for the wealth and power of each Balkan community — often, however, presented as a distorted mirror of Byzantine ways.

Bulgaria, the closest neighbor and off-and-on ally or enemy of the Byzantine empire, has always been within the focus of the Byzantines. Their accounts, together with those of Bulgarian origin — monastic charters and fiscal practice (*Praktika*) — provide important evidence for comparison of the productive, supplying, and distributive forces in medieval Bulgaria.

**Wolski, Jan Mikołaj** (Department of Byzantine History, University of Łódź)

*“The Image of Peter I in Bulgarian Historiography: Interpretations by Petăr Mutaŭčiev”*

Little light is shed by the sources on the figure of Tsar Peter I and the history of the state under his rule. Almost its entire forty years between 927 and 967 are veiled by silent sources. Some historians were tempted to fill this gap with a vision of the collapse of the country under a weak ruler: from the peak of power (the peace treaty of 927 confirming the territorial gains of Symeon) to the eradication of the statehood of Bulgaria in Moesia (the chain of events leading to it beginning with the hostile action of Nikephoros II Phokas in 967). The events of the end of Peter’s reign determined the negative image of this ruler in historiography. Supposed susceptibility to Byzantine influences and the downfall of culture in his time (with the end of the golden age) complete the picture.

This record of the image of Tsar Peter seems to be most significantly influenced by the work of Petăr Mutaŭčiev (1883–1943), a well-respected historian. He has shown the time of Peter as an era whose tone was that of fear of impending disaster. The nation’s response to the anticipated collapse was formed an escape from worldly problems — to hermitages or to heretical Bogomil communities. The elites which, according to Mutaŭčiev, should have directed the nation onto the right path were themselves succumbing to moral decay (being infected by the Byzantine rot) and could not deliver the people from apathy.

Mutaŭčiev’s interpretation, although it is based on a number of very uncertain elements (both in terms of the facts mentioned by the author and his assumptions), seems to be relatively sound. Efforts have also been made to “rehabilitate” Peter, particularly in recent times. Due to insufficient sources, these are subject to the same flaws as the critical interpretations.



Figure 5. Lead Seal of Emperor Peter I with the Empress Irina (Maria Lekapene). 927–969. Schumen, Regional Museum. Obverse: Frontal bust of Christ Pantocrator. Reverse: Half-length frontal busts of Petr and Irina. Iordanov Type III.3Ab, 95; Youroukova & Penchev 10. Image via Creative Commons.



Figure 6. Mongol coin with horseman bearing bow and arrow. Private collection.

Obverse: The usual “Kalima”. Reverse: Mongol horse-archer.

The coin is anonymous, but is attributed to the regent Töregene (1241–46), after the death of the Great Khan Ogedei (reference: Album.1976); the most common mint is Tiflis.

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Please join us for our **Business Meeting** on Thursday lunchtime and for the celebratory **Reception** co-sponsored with the **Index of Christian Art of Princeton University** on Friday evening  
All are welcome to these events

**RESEARCH GROUP BUSINESS MEETING**  
Thursday 12 May, 12:00–1:00pm  
Fetzer 1055

**RESEARCH GROUP CO-SPONSORED RECEPTION**  
Friday 13 May, 5:15–7:30pm  
Bernhard 208